/321 cont./

*171 than external similarity in common with the fish net stretched in
532 a frame in the same shape. If the Indian had hit upon the idea of
535 the mask-hoop by starting from the shape of the face, he would have used the entire field for the face, whereas the latter now takes up only a part of the space and is treated with less care than the painting. The fish makanari of the Bakaïrí is nothing but a net with narrow meshes and thus suitable for holding the loam.
[237] The net hood attached to it could be there today for the sake of the feather ornamentation, since the feathers must be tied into the meshes, but for this reason it is just as likely possible that the net is older then the feathers, which are otherwise missing on the hoods. Perhaps our oldest oval plaited mask, therefore, is merely the fish net added to the straw costume and decoratively fashioned. In this case it is far easier to understand why the characterization of the animal is so little emphasized; the net was decorated and even characteristically decorated, but it was not incorporated into the costume for the sake of an anatomical likeness.

-171 This also gives us an explanation of the mereschu design. The
● 53 mask -- fish-net was plaited more closely because it concealed better and could now be painted. But the old, wide-meshed net was painted on and the little fish set in. There is one point which seems to me to prove that I am right, a point which is very strange by itself, but would then be quite easily explained. My cousin Wilhelm pointed out to me that the Indian always paints the mereschu design standing, that is to say, the larger diagonal of the rhombus upright, the smaller one crosswise. This can no longer be seen on the round spindle whorls when they are finished, but we watched the incising and observed that the figure was made standing, and precisely the same thing happened in the pencil drawings. I could not therefore show the figure on page 288, Fig. 43, horizontally, which would probably have seemed more natural to us, I therefore also arranged all the spindle whorls with the mereschus horizontal, and lastly, though more for fun, I stood the original mereschu, page 286, on its tail.

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How does the artist arrive at this peculiarity? After all, on the frieze (cf.Plate 21/see p. 281/) the fish are drawn as they swim. Well, on the masks the fish also stand on their tails; one need only look at the fish makanari of the Bakaïrí, page 349, and the black Kamayurá mask, page 368. Indeed, the only time we come across the mereschu fish as a single individual outside the net, on the gull-mask of the Bakaïrí, page 289, Fig. 44, it is standing vertically. On the woven masks, however, which are the ones that matter since they are the oldest, the fish was drawn in a position unnatural in itself and for the fish, /322/ because they have the elongated oval position corresponding to the face. if one imagines the piava of the fish makanari, page 349, as horizontal, one will realize, first, that the fish would then be contracted, secondly, that it would look positively unnatural to have the fish swimming across the face because it would be contrary to the main direction. A glance at door and window arrangements shows the same requirement for us.

Thus, net and fish were painted with upright rhombuses on the elongated oval mask. Look at the great number of the mask illustrations with the mereschu design: the same position everywhere. We saw only one exception and it proves the rule rather than running counter to it. This is a Trumaí mask. The good Trumaí, however, borrowed the masks from the Kamayurá, just as they learned of cotton and the sieve-mat among them, and they designate them with the Tupí name. They did not take part in the developmental process.

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We now also understand the close connection between net and mereschu fish and the abundant production of this particular fish. Within each mesh was drawn a fish, which had to be small, because otherwise it would not fit in the space, which also had the same rhomboid shape as the net mesh. Finally, we understand how, with the fine work, the representation of the head, fins, and tail was done by filling in the corners. In short, everything agrees so excellently, both for the design and for the course of development, that I regard the proof as demonstrated, insofar as this is possible.

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*171 531 825 Nowadays the design has become purely ornamental. There is no direct, inherent connection between the mandioca digging sticks and the little lagoon fish. But one thing will have to be admitted. The significance of the little fish grew far beyond what it was originally because it recalled happy days of festivity; all industry having to do with drinking, feasting, and adornment seized upon it. Thus, there is good reason why the large gourds and calabashes in which the pogu is served, the beijũ turners with which the hospitable cakes are tirelessly turned on such days, the gourd vessels in which the gorgeous feathers were kept, the rattle-gourds waved for the dance, the spindle whorls with which the thread for the woven masks was spun, why all these and similar things were decorated with the mereschu fish. The origin of ornamentation lies in a motivated feeling, and it is only when its manifestations have become numerous and trivial that no one sees anything but figure and color. The favorite pictures of our people appear after all on colored handkerchiefs. The mereschu design was able to spread from tribe to tribe and became established everywhere just because it grew out of the festival dances in which all the tribes joined.

/323/ Yet it should not be forgotten that the Indian even today remains aware of the concrete original. The Bakaïrí does not put a mereschu fish on his masks, with the exception of the gull mask, Figure 44, and the fish makanari, Figure 93, and among other tribes too -- see the wax masks of the Auetö and the black, white, and red masks of the Trumaí -- there are distinct differences which I am unable to define more specifically. In the beginning, the fish was not appropriate in all the cases where today the rhombus has already crept in or will creep in soon.

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*171 ● 53 One must now ask the question: if the woven masks and the mereschu design go back to the fish net, are there any facts for determining which tribe was the inventor? The mereschu fish was designated to me as a "lagoon fish" (we ate it among the Yaulapiti), but it occurs everywhere in our area, even in the Paranatinga. Fishing with nets is also practiced by all tribes.

[226]

Waura SP18
Mehinacu
SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
Auetó SP6
Camayurá

B /323 cont./

*171 Thus, nothing can be determined here. Nevertheless, the ethno-
●53 logical leveling with the mereschu design and the masks has not yet gone so far that a negative conclusion cannot be reached, at least for a few tribes. The Bakaïrí, I believe, are out of the question. They are the "masters of the makanari and the imeo,"
B the plaited costumes, and the docile Bakaïrí did not have real
[283] masks at all. The Bakaïrí also did not have the spindle whorls
Y decorated with the mereschu. Among the Nahuquá we did not
532 find any woven masks and only poor wooden masks, which they
171 designated with the name yakuſkatú of the Tupí dance; they may have more to offer on the Kuluëne, but on the basis of what we know about them up to now, we can scarcely give them as much credit as the Bakaïrí and certainly not more. I have previously been obliged to deny originality for the Trumaí.

W The Mehinakú with their relatives and the Tupí tribes remain.
171 The former permitted us to see only wooden masks. The wooden
53 masks show the same arrangement as the woven masks with center stripe and design, so they do not show any peculiar origin and
W signify only a technical advance. The Mehinakú were the best
[322] carvers, as the stools show, and thus I should be inclined to give them first place for the invention of the wooden mask. I do not know but that they may also have dances with woven masks, since the word koahálu was also familiar to the Kustenaú and Waurá whom I questioned in the Auetó harbor; it is impossible to decide, since one tribe would know the dances of the other.

A The Tupí tribes of the Kamayurá and Auetó, especially the
171 latter, probably deserve the most consideration. The Auetó had
53 the largest number of plaited and woven masks, their word
[286] "koahálu" had been passed on to the Nu-Aruak tribes, also all the wooden masks among them were painted with the mereschu, they were the best painting artists who made purely stylized drawings, and among them and the Kamayurá in particular the most firmly woven cloth was present. Thus we see among them
W the oldest practice of the very arts which are required here, /324/
[322] weaving and painting, while the Mehinakú accomplish more in
[323] ceramics and carving. Therefore it is my humble opinion that